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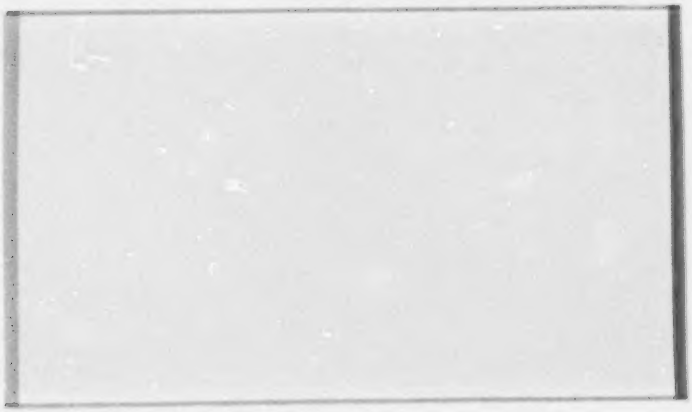

A participant in the United Way

STRENGTHENING THE VOLUNTARY SECTOR IN HARD TIMES

Proceedings of a Conference Held
January 31, 1983

Social Planning Council of
Metropolitan Toronto
and the United Way of
Greater Toronto

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INTRODUCTION

The Social Planning Council first became seriously concerned about the well-being of the voluntary social service sector, in light of both imagined and real government social spending cutbacks, in 1979. What were orginally charitable social services had increasingly over the years, especially after the enactment of the Canada Assistance Plan in 1966, become agents in the delivery of government social services, and government, the new benefactor, appeared to be backing away from its new offspring before they were even full grown, just as many of the services provided were in the midst of adjusting to new policy environments and to new expectations on the part of the public.

A small grant was sought and received from Health and Welfare Canada to carry out a survey of social service agencies that might be replicated in other communities as well. Voluntary social service agencies in Metropolitan Toronto were surveyed with respect to revenue, staffing and salary trends. Survey data were supplemented by information supplied by the United Way of Greater Toronto and by the then Department of Social Services, Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto.

The report, Voluntary Sector at Risk: Trends in Government Support of the Voluntary Social Services in Metropolitan Toronto, contained two main conclusions. First, the rate of growth in government funding had slowed considerably from the period of rapid increases in the early and mid-1970's. Several classes of agencies were doing quite poorly by the beginning of the 1980's. Secondly, there was a tendency, quite accentuated in the case of a couple of large classes of agencies, to substitute client fees for other fees or revenues. That is,the agencies tended to shift program emphasis towards programs with clients that could afford to pay or to increase

rapidly the fees for existing programs.

The end result in both cases was to make the voluntary social services less accessible to traditional working class clients and to change the nature of caring in Metropolitan Toronto. It was agreed that the agencies had not been very successful at countering these tendencies and that charitable giving was one of the most threatened of revenue areas.

Notions of what would constitute a useful follow-up to the report were vague and not entirely formulated. A new program of advocacy for the Social Planning Council seemed indicated. A greater co-ordinating and advocacy role for central fund-raising organizations like the United Way also seemed indicated.

The Social Planning Council's membership gave a warm reception to Dean Ralph Garber, Chairman of the Project Committee on the Voluntary Sector, when he presented the report's conclusions, as well as his own views on future actions required on the part of the voluntary social service sector, at a meeting in November 1981. Dean Garber received a similarly warm response when he addressed a United Way agency conference a few months later. The Social Planning Council's Board of Directors decided that it should play a leadership role in building a broad coalition of the labour, religious and social agency communities to work towards creative solutions to a broad range of problems, including underfunding of social services.

It was within this background that the Social Planning Council contacted the United Way regarding co-sponsorship of the conference, "Strengthening the Voluntary Sector in Hard Times." The two agencies worked together in developing the final agenda for the conference.

What follows are the major presentations made to the conference, beginning with the keynote address of Bishop John C. Bothwell of the Anglican Diocese of Niagara, Hamilton. Also included are presentations by Leonard Shifrin, syndicated social affairs columnist, Jeffrey Patterson, senior program director at the Social Planning Council, Alderman Anne Johnston of the City of Toronto and Marvyn Novick, Dean of Community Services at the Ryerson Polytechnical Institute.

BISHOP JOHN C. BOTHWELL
ANGLICAN DIOCESE OF NIAGARA

KEYNOTE SPEECH

I want to start with two stories - the first is about a woman who came to her lawyer seeking advice about a divorce. And he said to her, trying to explore her reasons, 'Well, tell me, do you have grounds?' And she said, 'Oh yes, we have a couple of acres and a very nice house on it too.' 'No, no, no,' he said, 'What's the matter, do you have a grudge?' And she said, "No, we don't have a grudge, but we have a double car port; it's very nice.' 'No, you're not understanding,' the lawyer continued, 'Tell me does he beat you up?' And she said, 'Oh no, I'm always up first, and I'm out of the shower before he gets out of bed.' 'Look' he said, 'Why do you want a divorce? 'Well,' she said, 'I want to find somebody I can carry on an intelligent conversation with.'

The second story, more serious, I read in a magazine a couple of months ago; it's an old-fashioned melodrama type of story about a cruel hearted money changer two centuries ago in London, England, who had a Jewish debtor that he threw into prison for bankruptcy, and then came to him and said, 'I'll make a bargain with you. If you will give me your lovely teenage daughter for my bride, I'll forgive you your debts.' Well, the poor Jewish merchant was horrified, but he didn't have much choice. 'We'll let providence decide this issue.' He said, 'I've got a cloth bag here and I'll pick up two stones, one white and one dark, and then we'll ask the maiden herself to reach into the bag and pick one out. If she picks the dark stone then she must marry you. If she picks the light stone then she will go free and the debt is forgiven.'

Well, it didn't seem like a very good bargain to the merchant but what could he do. And the maiden watched, sharp-eyed in her terror, as the money changer reached down and grasped two dark stones and stuck them into the bag. She was trapped. If she refused to choose her father would be angry, if she chose she couldn't win because both of the stones were dark, so she reached into the bag, let her hand tremble terribly and as she picked up the stone dropped it on the ground where it mixed in with all the other stones, you couldn't tell which one it was, and then she turned to the money changer, and she said, 'Oh, I'm so terribly sorry, but we'll be able to tell what colour stone I chose by the one that remains in the bag.'

The story represents creative action in very difficult circumstances, and it's appropriate for this morning,especially because we're dealing with the question of 'How can we be creative?' in a time of difficulty and discouragement. For most of us financial resources were far more plentiful a decade ago, but now it seems we get only the scraps with which to work. The question is what can we do about it? It goes without saying that there are no easy answers,but I have used the word 'scraps' to describe our resources advisedly, for the six letters of the word 'scraps' provide six important clues of how we might respond creatively to these hard times. Please consider briefly each of these six points.

First of all, 's'. 'S' is for sources of funds. Sources of funds are one of the chief sources of our problems so it's a good place to start. We've all considered the issues as defined in the report, Voluntary Sector At Risk. Mike Pennock, the executive director of the Hamilton Social Planning Council, wrote recently, 'Future resources for social services is a type of mixed blessing. On the one hand the news is not optimistic; on the other hand it presents a scenario in which there is challenge and fascination. If you

happen to treasure creativity and innovation then the news may represent an incentive to get on with the job.' Pennock summarizes funding prospects from the four main sources, three levels of government and voluntary giving, as follows.

On the municipal level in Hamilton, typical of many communities, slow population growth and slow growth in the property tax base, plus the currently increasing demand for general welfare assistance, make the outlook in terms of municipal revenue far from optimistic, and continuing high unemployment rates compound the problem. Unemployment in Hamilton-Niagara is now 14 per cent or more. On the provincial level, revenues from personal income and sales tax will be under increasing pressure as their growth rate begins to diminish with the slower growth of the labour force over the coming years, and persistent unemployment will hurt that too. The increasing demand in the health sector is an added pressure. Federal revenues may be under less pressure if the national energy program pays off, but that's far from certain in view of what's happening in the oil industry. Also, a slower expansion of the labour force together with increased demands on the health care and pension systems, not to mention pump priming programs for business, will keep social service expenditures under pressure. Voluntary giving to social services might increase if proposed changes to the income tax come about, but slow growth in the labour force will diminish this, as will the increasing number of agencies that compete for social service dollars.

From all this, Pennock concludes that if we are going to increase the quantity and quality of our services, we're going to have to embrace the conserver society motto of doing more with less or at best doing more with the same. Considerable innovation will be an absolute must. Fortunately, the number of skilled and active

volunteers in the community will be increasing dramatically in the coming years as a result of the rapid rise in the number of labour force retirements. In addition, public opinion surveys indicate that North American society is undergoing a pronounced shift in values. One of the central components is a shift away from relying on large organizations or outside resources for individual activities. In the private sector there's a much expanded do-it-yourself market, and in the social sector this can be seen in the rapid proliferation of self-help groups. All-in-all, constrained resources suggest that self-help will continue to flourish. Large, formal, institutional based services will probably play a less direct role whether we like it or not, and this will have profound implications for the traditional caregiver-client roles.

In short, in the foreseeable future, our funding sources will likely continue to be very tight but there is some hope that a greater number of mature, skilled volunteers, and new social attitudes, might help compensate at least a little bit for the dollar shortage.

'C' stands for compromise. Traditionally, of course, compromise is a bad word, especially for clergy like me. In the past, we exhorted folks to stand up and be counted for their personal convictions, and never to compromise. But in our modern, complicated, pluralistic, free society, I believe that compromise has become in fact a basic ingredient of progress. Unless we are willing to negotiate in good faith across every possible social, political and economic barrier, and seek solutions that are mutually acceptable, rather than personally satisfying, then increasing social strife and fragmentation are inevitable. Let me give an example of an area of concern where compromise must surely take place. In a little book entitled, 'The City and Radical Social Change', there's an article by Bill Freeman about how

Hamilton was built. It documents how city councils of successive eras have given major concessions in terms of investments, direct grants or tax holidays, to different types of industries as they faced high risks. First it was the railways, then the steel industries, and more recently real estate development. Freeman contrasts Hamilton's generosity to industry with its miserliness towards social needs, and in my view this tendency is still far too prevalent amongst political leaders at every level. Allocations to aid business people come first, and allocations for social services run far behind. You're familiar with the picture. However, let's be realistic. This kind of attitude is not completely wrong, it is simply partial and inadequate. As the Roman Catholic Bishops so eloquently emphasized in their recent statement, 'Profits' are not in themselves evil but the value and dignity of human work and the importance of serving human needs must be valued above profit taking, or at least on the same level with it, if our society is to become more just, sustainable, and participatory. Thus the question emerges, 'Is not an accelerated and more serious dialogue with our business-oriented political leaders and indeed with the business community itself one of the most pressing social priorities for citizens with a social conscience?' Business and political leaders place economic growth and big profits for further growth at the top of their priority list and if that view is inadequate then challenging it more vigorously must become a top priority for the rest of us.

In my view it's unlikely that a complete victory is possible for either side,but surely a more creative compromise that we have at present is essential. Before that can come about,however,the voluntary social service sector has to put its own house in order. Let's face it, we are still fragmented. Many of us are ambivalent about our own social goals, and uncertain or suspicious in our relations with each other. And until we can reach agreement and a wider concensus, with more creative compromises amongst ourselves about

our goals and our own needs and about inter-agency rivalries, then realistic negotiations with business and government sectors will be difficult or impossible. Learn a lesson from the institution that I represent. There was a time when the church spoke with conviction and unanimity. It's now so fragmented that hardly anybody needs to treat us seriously, and the same can happen in the social service sector.

Social planning councils and the United Way play a key role in arranging the dialogue and the compromises that will unite agencies to this end, as well as in leading the dialogue with business and government. Frankly, I'm worried about the dialogue with government. I'm one of those people who have spent a lifetime feeling that if the government rather than private business could just have more say in certain social issues that we would have a more just society. I'm appalled at how insensitive and complicated government agencies seem to have become, at least in my experience, and how difficult it is to get through to them. Nevertheless the dialogue's got to go on.

Well, 's' for sources of funds, 'c' for compromise: now think about 'r', for realism. Most Canadians still really believe that it we encourage economic and material growth, the benefits will eventually trickle down to the poor and the needy. This assumption is still taken for granted by most businessmen and politicians, and, let's face it, that theory simply does not hold water. It needs to be more vigorously and articulately challenged. In my view, and I'm sure in many of yours, it is a fact that many of our social problems - broken families, increasing health problems, unemployment and rising crime rates - can be traced directly to our present approach to economic and social development and to the assumption that if we build up the economic sector of society the benefits will trickle down to the

poor. It seems to me that our governments at every level begin with an economic policy whose over-riding goal is to increase production measurable in terms of dollar value, and this stress on production first and foremost minimizes or even ignores real human needs and environmental well-being. Then, as a secondary measure, social policies such as welfare are instituted in an attempt to patch up the social consequences of the economic policy. I wonder myself if the time is not close when another and more serious look at the guaranteed annual income may not be appropriate.

One key pre-requisite of a more intensive dialogue with government and business therefore is a careful tabulation of the actual results of government and business policies and the development of alternative policies, such as the promotion of self-help organizations, community-based projects, as well as proper legislation to ensure that basic human needs are met and human rights honoured. In this, clearly, the social planning councils must lead. How ironic it is that in a time of financial restraint the social planning councils that we need more than ever to lead us are the very ones that are suffering perhaps most of all from dollar shortages. We must continue to call again and again for the integration of social and economic policy that will enable human growth in all facets of life for all people. Some compromises of the ideal are going to be necessary of course if we enter into an open dialogue with business and government in good faith, but realism demands that we must not lose sight of this ultimate goal.

'A' is for adaptability. In his report, Resource Trends for Social Service, referred to earlier, Mike Pennock commented, 'We are undoubtedly entering a difficult period as our society undergoes

some pronounced structural changes.' The almost inevitable slow-growth scenario represents a whole new ball game. Canada has just come through a period of incredibly rapid growth and we've come to accept this rate of growth as natural and inevitable. With the benefit of hindsight we can now see that it was unnatural and finite in its duration. Slower growth in every sector of society is, I believe, inevitable. Fortunately, our society appears to be undergoing a shift of values which will make slow growth more palatable than in the past. Actually growth has been a two-edged sword for the social service field. On the one hand rapid growth has created considerable social disruption, increased social problems, and created an environment of panic planning, while on the other hand it has generated a pronounced increase in financial resources. The future then will be a new ball game which will provide a crucial test for the creativity and flexibility of the social service institutions which came to the forefront during the old period of rapid growth and rising expectations.

Also, the future may hold even more challenges to personal and agency adaptability if we divert more of our attention from the multitude of urgent, practical, every day problems to a debate on the structural changes in government, business and community life which may be necessary if we are to achieve a more just, sustainable, and participatory society. How adaptable can we be? How many problems or layers of problems can we cope with at the same time? The future is exciting and will challenge our personal and agency adaptability to a degree that is more than challenging - it's threatening.

So finally, I come to consider 'p' for perseverance and 's' for sincerity as the final ingredients of our future strategy. I guess these words sound kind of corny, the sort of thing you feared might come from a clergyman like me, but corny or not they are very important. Rome wasn't built in a day, we're told, and the development of a more just, sustainable and participatory society that we hope for will unfold very slowly. Perseverance, indeed, patient perseverance, hanging in there against threatening odds, uncertain prospects and more tempting personal alternatives will not be easy. And keeping from fragmenting ourselves, rather than uniting for common goals, will be a problem.

The Latin root of the word 'sincere' means, I'm told, 'without wax', and refers to the ancient deceit of patching up valuable metals with coloured wax. The result looked really good but it was phony. Good appearances are not enough; we've go to be sincere, without wax. Personally I've worked on voluntary boards for a lot of years now and I'm a senior officer of an ancient society that is deeply concerned about human needs, and I therefore know first hand that constant tension which exists between personal and institutional priorities on the one hand and the overwhelming needs of our society as a whole and our individual clients on the other hand. We all believe in our personal and agency needs; they are legitimate and important; we don't apologize for them. That is why in a time of financial crunch it is an agonizing task to set priorities that reflect the greater or least equal needs of those we serve over our own needs. We were talking at breakfast on how hard it is when you're in an idealistic profession serving human needs, to have to take unwarranted cuts in salaries or rely on small increases. It hurts. And our tendency is to look at our institutional needs first; at least that's mine.

People who are poor or sick or hurting pay little or nothing toward my salary or the maintenance of my well-being, but that rather creaky institution which I serve does. But those very people, the poor, the sick, the hurting, are supposed to be my chief concern; if I read the founder of my agency correctly, and if I may be so bold, I believe that they must be your first concern too, as members of helping professions and agencies. Our own institutional needs are important; they must not become all-consuming. Let's persevere with sincerity in holding them, the poor, the sick, the hurting, in the very centre of our vision, and because that task with all the other changes that are confronting us seems so overwhelming I want to close with a word of encouragement, some words that I found rather inspiring from the late Robert Kennedy. He said,

> 'Let no one be discouraged by the belief that there's nothing one man or one woman could do against the enormous array of the world's ills, against misery and ignorance and injustice and violence. Few of us have the greatness to bend history itself but each of us can work to change a small portion of events and in the total of all those acts will be written the history of this generation. It is from numberless diverse acts of courage and belief that human history is shaped. Each time a person stands for an ideal or strikes out against injustice or acts to improve the loss of others, he or she sends a tiny ripple of hope, and crossing each other from a million different centres of energy and daring those ripples build a current which will sweep down the mightiest walls of oppression and resistance.'

That's our task, let's get on with it.

LEONARD SHIFRIN

LUNCHEON ADDRESS
(AS DELIVERED)

The story is told of the distraught woman who tells her social worker, "I have no money; there's no food in the house to feed the children; the rent is due today and I can't pay it. What am I to do?" The social worker replies, "Clearly, what you need is counselling." I first heard that story 15 year ago from the director of a community multi-service agency in New York City during the days of Lyndon Johnson's famous "war on poverty." The agency director that told me the story was a true believer in pre-school education, community legal services and the whole range of social services that were being introduced through the war on poverty.

The agency director was under no illusions that these service programs, however innovative and useful, were going to make poor people cease to be poor. Someone, however, a few years earlier must have thought that these remedial services could cure poverty because when the war on poverty was being designed it had no income component. There was no income program in Lyndon Johnson's big war on poverty. And the strangest thing about this is that at the time nobody thought there was anything strange about it. Of course, those were the days when social researchers were all very busy doing things like documenting the correlation between, say, juvenile delinquency and low educational attainment of a family head. Spoilsports had not yet pointed out that low level of educational attainment of the family head was simply an imperfect surrogate for low

family income and if you measure that instead you find an even stronger correlation. And that's not so long ago. That was only the supposed golden era of the middle to late 1960's.

Canada's version of a sixties war on poverty was launched a lot less dramatically than its American counterpart, which is not at all untypical, but it probably added up to more in the long-run. The creation of the Canada Assistance Plan in 1966 led to major expansions in both social assistance and social service programs, and it was accompanied that same year by establishment of the world's first negative income tax-style program, a guaranteed income supplement for the aged. In the Social Planning Council's study of trends in government funding that was referred to this morning, it records how this social service expansion continued into the mid-1970's at which point it reversed itself and a contraction began. That contraction process, fortunately, has also been a good deal less dramatic than what's taken place south of the border.

It's interesting that for all Ronald Reagan's protestations of devotion to the voluntary sector, cuts in government programs have meant drastic reductions in fee-for-service funding for voluntary agencies in the States, as well as the well-known drastic cuts in income programs for the poor.

The last time that I was here in the St. Lawrence Hall was seven years ago when I was among the speakers at a conference on family income security issues, co-sponsored by the Toronto Social Planning Council and a group called The Metro Agencies Action Committee, which I assume has long ago ceased to exist. The federal-provincial social security review was at that point almost four years old and well along on its voyage to nowhere.

The high point of the conference was a recriminating session between the then Minister of National Health and Welfare, Marc Lalonde, and a panel of social agency representatives. The agency people condemned the Minister for having failed to deliver on his Orange Book promise of a program of income supplementation for the working poor. Lalonde responded in kind claiming it was the failure of social agencies, among others, to provide visible evidence of support for the project which had led to the precarious state of its health. And there was some truth on both sides of the debate. But when those who claim a commitment to social reform blame their silence on the government's failure to provide them with structured opportunities for participation, some skepticism is warranted. As Lalonde pointed out, the Chamber of Commerce had managed to become very much involved in public discussion of the subject without the need of a structured invitation. For those whose memories don't go back all the way you can probably guess what side the Chamber of Commerce was actively involving itself on in the question of a program of income supplementation for the working poor.

The record of social service organizations in advocacy on behalf of the poor is not particularly impressive. In fact there have even been times in the semi-distant past when they have played the role of handmaiden to the forces of reaction. Anyone who doubts that is invited to read the report to the Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia by the Canadian Council on Child and Family Welfare, which is what the Canadian Council on Social Development called themselves 50 years ago, on the subject of the British Columbia Mothers' Pension Act. It is all about how giving single mothers money instead of professional social work guidance is destructive of 'initiative, enterprise and strength of character.' As a result of that advice, I'm sure you will all cringe to know, the Government of British Columbia happily

re-shaped its legislation in 1934 to restrict eligibility, reduce benefits, and cut overall outlays by 40 per cent. That was a rather extreme example.

Much more typical of modern experience was the Lalonde Orange Book exercise in non-participation. And, to be fair, it's not that difficult to understand how that sort of thing happens even with the best of intentions. As they say, it's awfully hard to keep in mind that the goal is to drain the swamp when you're being kept so busy fighting off the alligators. Social service organizations are not designed for policy advocacy, they're designed for specific functions; though they're not designed for policy advocacy and usually don't touch the stuff, exceptional circumstances can make for exceptions. The wild and wooly days of the poor people's movement at the end of the sixties was one such exception. When angry poor people are sitting-in at your office and demanding that you prove you are not living off the avails of their misfortune by joining in their crusade, it has a remarkable affect on priorities. I know the feeling, having once been held captive by a group in Montreal who declared they were going to hold me until the Federal Welfare Minister, who was my boss at the time, called the Quebec Welfare Minister and ordered him to increase provincial benefit rates. Given the nature of federal and provincial jurisdictions in the matter, I am very happy that the group proved to have extremely limited staying power.

An exception of quite a different order occurred a couple of years ago when the parliamentary committee on fiscal federalism, the Breau Committee, you may recall, was holding its hearings across the country. The MP's received so many submissions from social service organizations that the committee made a point of noting in its report how impressed it had been by these enormous numbers. Privately, several committee members told me they were

at least as mystified as impressed. All of these social agencies, said the MP's, came to us to tell us what a wonderful job they were doing and why we shouldn't cut off their funds. We told them we had no intention of proposing cuts in anybody's funds. What we wanted to know from them is how they thought this stystem could function better. They just sat there stunned totally unprepared for any such question. As many of you probably know, there is an explanation to the mystery. Beginning with a set of urgent alarms from the Canadian Council on Social Development in Ottawa, word went out on the Social agency grapevine that the parliamentary committee was a threat to Canada Assistance Plan's social service funding and the result was that great outpouring of submissions by agencies bent on self-preservation. If the truth had been known that the Ottawa half of social service funding was in absolutely no danger would there have been that same great parade of agencies that testified. I am absolutely sure there would not have been and I have yet to meet anyone who argued otherwise, and yet the issues that the committee was concerned with, from extra billing under medicare to regional differentiation in the cost-sharing formula for social assistance, were all issues of genuine concern to the clients of social agencies. Now I grant you that such issues are complicated and preparing a submission to address them takes time and costs resources which could otherwise be spent keeping alligators at bay and addressing other issues of concern to social agency clients, such as tax reform, pension reform.

The creation of a just society, to resurrect a phrase from the days when the world was young, is a great deal of what it is that social agencies try to do. If every social service organization in this country spoke out on every issue of consequence

to its clients there would be an absolutely immense lobby for social reform in this country. That doesn't require that every agency carry out the research necessary to replicate the invention of the wheel on every occasion. The same research can go a long way when it is shared. And when I refer to social service organizations I mean it as broadly as possible, I mean it to include all bodies which have or purport to have an interest in social issues.

Now having said that when research is shared a little bit can go a long way, I have to acknowledge that my story about the parliamentary committee on fiscal relations argues on the other side. It demonstrates how agencies which rely on information from a central source are gambling on its accuracy and any organization which is concerned with its own reputation has to be concerned about the question of quality control in such an arrangement. The only answer I can offer on that count is that participating groups have to remain sufficiently cognisant throughout the process to be able to judge the quality of what's taking place. You don't have to become a tax expert to be able to recognize who really knows the subject and who is simply talking through his hat, but you do need to know a little bit about the subject, and that does require putting some resources into it. And that's something I think if we're at all serious on the subject we have to be willing to do.

The past 15 years have wrought a massive transformation in the institutions of this country, both public and private. Rivalries between turfs, when somebody is setting up a committee and somebody else is afraid that that committee is going to challenge its jurisdiction or whatever whether it's at a local level, whether it's at a national level, whether it's between agencies,

whether it's between agencies and a local government, whether it's between federal departments, whether it's federal-provincial- there is exactly the same, exactly the same kind of situation over and over again. The amount of time and energy that is spent in these fights over turf and the number of comings together to make common cause that never happened because of these rivalries is something that's a phenomenon of this past 15 years. Once upon a time there were far fewer players and every player was so busy that there was no time for concern that someone else might be walking on the corner of his turf. The old coalitions which included churches, unions and a range of social organizations which won the battles for medicare and the Canada Pension Plan and a range of other great social landmark advances, were the products of very remarkable networks of a generation that has since passed on from positions of influence and power. In part they got pushed out by the new, they were the old-men-move-over generation that the great rising tide of the late 60's succeeded in moving on. They were products of the depression, very much shaped by that common experience. Few enough in number that I don't know that all of the key people in medicare, Canada Pension Plan or whatever could be fitted into a large telephone booth, but certainly would not have taken this hall to include all of them from all over the country. It was a relatively simple time; the number of players were small; they knew one another; they had, through the Depression, through the Marsh Report, which set out the agenda for the post-war period, a very clear idea of what the great pressing social needs were, had a pragmatic orientation as to how to bring it about, and were really remarkably successful in doing so. There is no such group in any such role today, and certainly nationally there is nothing remotely of that sort.

From the couple of sessions I sat in on this morning it's clear that even locally, where it's infinitely more manageable, you have

exactly the same problem. We heard the very impressive story of how the 'Vigil' had succeeded in bringing about the increase, or precipitated the government's decision to bring about the increase, in welfare rates, and how you had a simple clear-cut issue when the need for higher rates, how rates had fallen well behind inflation over the years, was so well documented.

You could bring together a disparate group of people around such a clear-cut issue and through tactics that are brilliant tactics, as far as I'm concerned,and succeed. We went on to talk about an attempt that's now underway to use similar tactics on a much fuzzier issue of affordable housing and how the common denominator that they're using is that lowest common denominator. Everybody agrees that there's a problem of lack of affordable housing, and amoung the reasons why they're not going beyond that is because within the group there are a variety of different views as to what the answer is: whether it's go back to building public housing, or change the rules of the game on co-op housing, or greater subsidy programs or whatever.

In the coalitions session - I didn't get into this though I heard the story second hand - they're talking about how there were 18 agencies involved in a coalition and yet there were other groups that felt locked out. It became difficult to function even with 18. Well those kinds of issues didn't exist back in the days when there were so few groups that all of the performers could be fitted into a medium - sized telephone booth. You didn't have a problem with defining the breadth of a coalition. And when you have coalitions the question of tactics becomes disruptive. Groups are prepared to enter into a coalition that makes statements, but not a coalition that marches. And this is just at the local level in one city. We're a long way, in other words, from being able to exert the kind of pressure

that brought us medicare. This is a perfect example because right now half of what we won in the 1960's on medicare is in the process of going down the drain, and yet there is no capacity to come together on the infinitely simpler job of holding what we've won rather than winning it in the first place. When it came to winning it, it wasn't as simple as your 'for it' or 'against it', and the House divides and there's more good guys than bad guys, so we got it. There was a whole question of defining what medicare is. At the point when it became clear that the great majority of the Canadian people wanted Medicare, in this province the Robarts government came up with a form of welfare medicare program for poor people, and said 'That's medicare. Everybody who isn't poor will simply deal with their neighbourhood health insurance company; everybody who is poor will deal through us; and that's medicare.' It wasn't a simple case of you're for it or against it. The whole question of defining and coming up with a clear-cut consensus on the part of all those who are committed to the idea in order to force government -and in Ontario's case it really was forced on a government that was adamantly against going into such a program - was complex compared to the task at hand. Now we have the infinitely simpler job of simply holding the gains of 50 years ago, and we're not even doing it.

When I was invited to come here and the first thing I saw was the title of the program, "How to Strengthen the Voluntary Sector In Hard Times, "I frankly wasn't particularly impressed. When I subsequently got the full program and I saw from the list of sessions that it could well have been called 'How to Advance the Social Concerns of the Voluntary Sector In Hard Times', I was much more impressed.

To borrow the heading of one of this afternoon's sessions as a note to conclude on, Is there a leadership role for the voluntary sector? Yes, indeed, there certainly is. The questions are

whether it's prepared to accept that role, whether it has the will to accept that role and if so, the pragmatic issues of how it goes about doing it.

Thank you.

JEFFREY PATTERSON

I'm here mostly to introduce our main speaker for this session, 'Public-Voluntary Collaboration; Can We Break the Impasse?'. I'm also here to make a few comments about the Social Planning Council background paper and I'll try and do that very quickly and then get on to introducing our speaker.

The main issue that's put forward in the background paper, the primary reason for the impasse which is addressed in this session, is that governments are unwilling to spend the money to provide the services that they were once able and willing to provide. An example that comes to mind is Medicare. About a year and a half ago the Social Planning Council invited Walter Gordon, former minister of finance, to present his views on where society was going now, and Walter told us that when he was a member of Cabinet in Ottawa he thought he had sold Medicare to the then Pearson, or Liberal, Cabinet in 1966 on the basis that the revenues to pay for Medicare would eventually be coming in and all that Cabinet was doing, given the growth in government revenues at that time and the growth in the economy at that time, was choosing priorities. " The revenues of government are growing, and the money will be there. You can pay for Medicare."

In the paper I try to present what I might call some of the dimensions of the decline in resources for social program spending. In 1975, and this was the peak year, government spending for social programs amounted to about 20.1 per cent of Canada's gross national product. By 1979 - 1975/'79 was actually the biggest era of cutbacks - that proportion had sunk to 19 per cent. Again it wasn't a question of

it being reduced by astronomical amounts but simply that growth had come to a stop, From '79 to'81 the federal government contribution to social program spending declined from 9.2 to 8.0 per cent of Canada's gross national product. At the same time provincial spending, largely as we've seen due to spending on Medicare and on other health programs, increased by a similar amount but only in those areas.

The other significant dimension, and this has application in Ontario, is that Ontario ranks quite low on the provincial scale - and its rank is falling. In 1981 Ontario was ninth in all social spending in Canada on a per capita basis. In the area of health it was fourth. In the area of education it was eighth, and in the area of social welfare it was sixth. In each one of these areas the change in spending from '75 to '81 placed it in a lower rank. For all social spending Ontario's rank for change in the '75 to '81 period was tenth. If you even treat Ontario as a province which isn't growing as fast as some other provinces economically, even if you consider that fact, Ontario's rank in terms of its commitment of additional funds to social spending is still tenth.

Ontario's spending under the CAP program for social services is less than almost all the other provinces - I think all but one. If one tries to measure the effort of Ontario vis-a-vis the other provinces, where 1.00 would be equivalent to the average for all the provinces, Ontario's effort in the area of homes for special care is .33. It's effort in the area of child welfare is .89. That's as high as Ontario ranks with respect to any services. And a large part of that is due to the special efforts in child welfare that Ontario made after the '74 announcement of its new child abuse program. Ontario ranks .57 in welfare services.

In work activity programs - that's work activity programs for people on welfare - its' effort is .26. Its overall rank on social programs or social services is .5, in other words one-half the effort of the other provinces.

The other thing that the background paper does in addition to presenting those grim statistics, and they probably shouldn't be looked upon as anything other than grim statistics as our job here is to try and start overcoming that, is that for most of us the decline in resources for the voluntary sector has not been all that major. I try to show that the planning agencies, the planning and information agencies, have been very hard hit in the past six or seven years. The non-United Way agencies have fared much worse on the whole than those who are members of the United Way.

The real problem, the cause of the impasse, I think, we should conclude, is that there have been no new resources put into the social program sector, and one of the reasons for the impasse between the voluntary sector and government, if that's what people would focus upon, is the unwillingness of government in any event to discuss changes in programs that would improve the services if that improvement would cost more money. Our main speaker to follow will illustrate what I'm saying in very graphic form.

Anne Johnston, whom some of you here will know as an Executive Alderman for Toronto's Ward 11, was trained as an occupational therapist, and she worked for a number of years in that field. She therefore comes to us with a wealth of experience both in that work, but in a lot of other work in the voluntary sector, and it was by reason of her involvement in voluntary activities that we thought she would be able to make such a good presentation this afternoon. Anne decided to become an active politician

sometime around 1973 when she was elected to City Council from Ward 11; she's currently the chairperson of the Toronto Board of Health; she was the Executive Alderman from 1978 to 1980, and she's back on the City Executive Committee, and in 1973/74 she chaired the Metro Council Committee on Social Services and Housing to which so many of our agencies relate.

PUBLIC-VOLUNTARY COLLABORATION: CAN WE BREAK THE IMPASSE?

ANNE JOHNSTON

When I went to a meeting the other day to discuss what we were all going to say in the sessions today, I was totally blocked. I found the title of this session extraordinarily pessimistic and I went home feeling that I might not be able to do the job I'd like. As late as this morning I was still deciding what I was going to say to you. It's certainly been a thoughtful process.

The best definition of a pessimist came to me this weekend when I was out on the street doing my shopping wearing only a sweater. I said, "Isn't this incredible weather?" "What a marvellous winter," and something inside me said, "Oh, are we going to pay for it." Then I said, "But we had a lousy summer, maybe it's a reward." And to me that's a difference between being a pessimist and being an optimist. So I then looked up in Webster's dictionary what an impasse meant. It means a blind alley; a cul-de-sac; a road having no way out, a position from which there is no escape; and a deadlock.

Now having come this morning from Metro Transportation Committee, where we talk about all those hard services and where they're doing a much better job of promoting what they need in terms of the dollar than we in the social services are, I prefer to use the word cul-de-sac as an impasse and say, 'in a cul-de-sac you can turn around again and get out'.

We live in an era - I thought again this morning it's rather like the horseman of the Apocalypse - when we have in the United Kingdom the British Bodacea, or Bodachea depending on how you like to say

it, who is riding around in her warlike chariot making war with the Falkland Islands a very sexy issue. We have in the United States of America a president who was a cowboy, who was a very good actor, making cutbacks a very sexy issue. And we now have, as of this weekend, the western cowboys taking over the federal government. They should be so lucky.

So we have three very big world figures who are making restraint very popular and we have very puny people like ourselves wondering if indeed it's all so necessary. In other words, again, it's overly pessimistic.

We've had in the past some great Canadians, like Walter Gordon, like Paul Hellyer, who tell us that we haven't really got the economic problems we think we have because we're not selling ourselves as Canadians; we're not valuing ourselves as Canadians. In fact the other night Paul told me that we don't need to have any sort of depression. He's been telling everybody in The Sun, that for years.

Misery loves company. Certainly that's true with the budget process that is going on right now internally at City Council. I am being told we are in a depression and yet I don't see it, except in very specific parts of the community amongst the unemployed, the underhoused, and the people for who we all, I think, exist. Maybe we should be working harder to make sure that we don't exist for them. Metro is an immensely wealthy part of Canada. The budget spent by Metro is enormous. We now spend over one billion dollars on our operating budget. How we 'priorize' that budget is the big problem, and I suspect it's the big problem for the United Way. In Metro, as I said, this morning I watched photographs, I watched an excellent presentation by Dale Richmond the Deputy Commissioner of Roads and Traffic, about how we must

spend money on resurfacing our roads, and that we must do 44 kilometers a year. He showed us gruesome pictures of holes in the Gardiner Expressway, and certainly I don't think I'd want to ride on the Gardiner Expressway ever again. But before his presentation had ended there were people on that committee saying, "Where do I sign?" They were convinced. So it's the way you sell what you want to do that I think is very important.

In this city there is consistently an immense amount of public sympathy that is generally untapped. Leonard Shifrin mentioned Michelle Landsberg in his presentation. Michelle Landsberg, with the assistance only of the step-father of a 15 year old girl in Cornwall, has made an issue which has flattened the Children's Aid Society in Cornwall. Some fellow, a nobody, wrote to - The Star the other day and said he was going to commit suicide on February 15 if he didn't get a job - a very depressed individual - and the reaction was phenomenal. The Herbie Fund - bit cynical about who started it - but nevertheless there is a fund that consistently receives funds and it is for children from all over the world. We are indeed "Toronto the good", and I think we should start thinking like Toronto the good and stop thinking in a rather stereo-typed way as providers of the social services and look for help from the voluntary sector.

I'm, as you heard, an occupational therapist by profession. It was while I was working at Queen Street Mental Health Centre in the late sixties that I realized I was a political animal. If I couldn't do something I found a way of going around it and getting it done, and I found it a much easier thing than in fact I was told it could be. People, it seemed to me sat back on their haunches, enjoyed their misery, moaned a lot about how dreadful it was, and how government should do something. And of course the message

never got past the coffee shop at Queen Street Mental Health Centre. Very few of us took it further than that. So almost without realizing it I got into politics and, although on the social scale a politician is last but one, I think just above the used car salesman, it could be something that one is proud to be. I am proud to be one.

Using my role as a politician, I became an advocate and, I think, that's the other thing that you have to talk about: advocacy and marketing. And I think this is an area in which the voluntary sector is failing. I think you must be more vocal in identifying your needs and how you want to fulfill your needs. I think that professionals, who have tended to arrive to work somewhere around 8.30/9 o'clock and go home round about 4.30/5 o'clock, have to be more careful about how they treat their clients, their patients or whatever you all call them now. They must not be afraid of being political. I don't think that this means that we must commit ourselves to one political party. I think there are good politicians and bad politicians in all three of the recognized parties. I would suspect that in this room there are probably people who would all agree on the high priority for funding of the social services and we are members of all three political parties.

A couple of years ago I suggested to City Hall that we should be bonusing developers to provide day care spaces. Council decided not to accept my suggestion and instead created the Day Care Task Force, which is trying to get private day care going in Eaton's and Simpsons and Sick Kids Hospital and so on around the city. I'm now sure we should have done both. You would bonus the developer to absorb the capital costs of day care; you would give him another two floors for doing it, and a building which was so high that most people on the ground couldn't see the top of it anyway would have another two floors on top, but you would have

a paid-for day care facility at the bottom. We're doing it for historic buildings; we're doing it for churches; Holy Trinity Church is now a millionaire, or will be, because it has been able to transfer its air rights to Cadillac-Fairview and has now got the sort of money that it needs to do the out-reach that it wanted to do in downtown Toronto. So we're doing it for cultural buildings, or we're beginning to; everybody's a bit uneasy about it. We're doing it for buildings of architectural significance, and we're doing it for buildings of historical significance, or where somebody lived in them who was of historical significance. But I think we could be doing it in the provision of day care, of seniors' housing, in parks, in recreation, or even for extra parking for cars. And we have to persuade government at a local level that this is acceptable; they're all afraid of doing it.

Up in my ward, and Charlotte Maher is involved in this, I have bribed a developer. We are always the last on the approved day care list for Metro day care. St. Clements day care never gets funded; I can never argue that we in North Toronto need day care more than the people in the Jane-Finch corridor or in Scarborough, or in downtown Toronto. I can't honestly go up there and say "Give it to me" and expect to get it. So we set up a group of people who looked around to see if we could raise the money and all of a sudden the money seems to be coming in. We've got some money from COMSOC, * quite a significant fund, and I was able to persuade a developer that I would support his density transfer - which I suspect he may have been going to get anyway - if he would build a day care centre in his building. He took a look at that and he came back and said, "No, I don't want to do that, but I'm willing to fund a day care centre anywhere you like." So that was dollars, a significant bunch of dollars. Then I met with another developer and convinced

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* Ministry of Community and Social Services.

him it would be cheaper if he built it, so we're going to get more money. He's now on our board of directors; we've co-opted him; he's a nice guy; he's feeling really good about himself; and I suspect that he can use the federal initiative program in a cheaper way than we can use it at the municipal level and we may finally be going to get our day care centre, you can take us off the list, Mr. Picherack, and give us some subsidized spaces.

When I first was elected in 1972, Mayor Crombie asked me to chair a task force for the disabled and I was really glad that I had been an occupational therapist because at least I knew how to work with a group of people and how to produce something at the end of it. We had no idea what it was we were going to produce, but we did in a period of 18 months collect together 80 different people who were either disabled, or cared for somebody who was disabled, or had a child who was disabled. Together, we reported to City Council and through them to Metro Council on the needs of the disabled community. And over the years, in advance of the International Year of the Disabled, we were able to, through policy changes and through influence and bribing and God-knows-what, get the curbs cut, get them adapted to wheel chairs, raise hell if there was a movie shown at a movie theatre for the disabled where there was no ramp and get a ramp installed, get the washrooms done, get jobs for the disabled in the private sector and in the public sector. And that is advocacy. We made it politically sexy. We made it so that people couldn't look you in the eye and say "No." Even Harold Ballard couldn't say "No."

What worried me through the years at City Hall, and I've been there for ten years now, is that in the realm of planning, land use planning, politicians still don't often talk about the people for whom they plan. They forget that people come in different shapes

and sizes, in different colours, from different countries, different degrees of mobility and, of course, are different ages. When we were doing the St. Lawrence Centre development, I had to say, "Where is the health centre going to be?" Nobody from staff had thought of it. So the health centre was integrated into the subject. They remembered the school. Eventually they remembered a library, but nobody thought about a health centre, and thousands of people were going to be living down there. So it got built in at the same time instead of going back in later which is always more expensive.

We need transportation for the handicapped. I feel that I'm crying in the wilderness by myself at Metro Council. I am called 'irrational', 'insane', 'nuts' - you name it - for saying that our transit system has to be made accessible. The costs of a parallel transit system are getting to be higher and higher; the services are getting worse and worse, and the coordination is terrible. I could go on like that for an hour and a half. I've had to go out, way out, and do ridiculous things like vote against every clause that comes past Metro Council with respect to the Scarborough Transit System because they're building another one and it's not going to be accessible. And they built the Spadina Subway and it wasn't accessible. It would not cost very many more dollars to make them accessible when they're orginally built. It always costs much more later.

So we should be taking advantage of land use planning to include human planning, even though human planning isn't yet in the Planning Act. And we should also be taking full advantage of the opportunities in the private sector to dredge up the best feelings that I think most people generally have.

Politicians need to know that the voters, the people who cast their ballots in the ballot box, want these things to happen.

You've got to manipulate the politicians, you've got to manipulate the public, you've got to make it politically sexy like 'weedless Wednesday' was sexy last week.

Anyway, government is going to tell you, because you're not advocating loudly enough, that they haven't got enough money to do the things that you need to have done. That's an internationally popular position right now, and I don't think it's true. Even if they don't have the money they have the access to influence people to supply some of the needs, like the developer putting in the day care centre or whatever sort of centre you want to have.

We are proud in this city of how it looks. The streets are clean, the leaves get cleared up, the smoke gets cleared away, but it isn't going to look so nice with the unemployed on the streets, the people sleeping on the streets and so on and so forth. You have to make it as sexy to the tourist that we in Toronto are as nice to the people who live in Toronto as we are to our streets. In 1974, David Silcox, who's gone onto his rewards in Ottawa, made a fabulous statement in Vancouver when he said, "The arts communities, ladies and gentlemen," - he was talking to a bunch of municipal politicians - 'want to be treated like a sewer." And that is such a good statement. "You want to be treated like a sewer." Social services are as absolutely essential as sewers.

Now I did have some time to read in the report of The Task Force on Ethnic and Native Communities, and I was interested that the United Way has begun to look inward towards itself. I remember the first week after I was elected, I came into City Council on my white charger and the first shot I took was at the United Community Fund, as it was then called, and my God, did I learn to regret it. I thought at that time it was too elite; I thought

the banquets were awful; I thought that too much money was being spent on the administration and not enough of it was reaching the streets. I'm now afraid, expecially after reading this report of The Task Force on Services to Ethnic and Native Communities, that you've got to start seriously making decisions. I was appalled to see that a member agency of the United Way is an agency which belongs to the United Way because it gets funded by the United Way. Well I think you've got to have a different category of membership because I think quite possibly there are agencies who belong to the United Way who quite possibly could do the fund raising for themselves. And there are agencies in this town now, this multi-ethnic town we live in, who need your help very badly to start off with, and probably could do a good job raising their own money in their own communities themselves after a while. And I think that the voluntary sector, I include many of you in that, has to be looking at creative ways of providing services rather than getting dollars from government. But you've got to do both. As we all know, when we open some sort of a house, transition house or something like that, you're able to go to Simpson's and get furnishings for free. I was at Planned Parenthood's new house the other day and these marvellously elegant velvet sofas were donated by Eaton's or Simpson's, I mean there are things like that you can do. You don't have to have dirty old beds for the poor women that go to Transition House and Interval House. You don't have to have dollars in other words. You have to have people in your organization who can get those material things for you.

I'm sorry that you stopped knocking on doors. (Applause) I'm glad you agree with me. I never really enjoyed the experience. Somebody would come to me from my street who said, "When are you going to write me your cheque for $50? or whatever it was."

You knew very well how to pick your canvassers, and I wonder why you stopped that. What was lacking was accountability. Where did my $50 go, and what was happening with my $50 over that next twelve months period. Tell me it's being spent well. It gave me a feeling of 'I cast a bit of bread upon the waters and it didn't come back as soggy bread'; it made me feel good. So why are you only going to the corporate sector? Why are you only going to big business? I think people like to give, and in this city they show every sign of doing it voluntarily. Perhaps one of the things that you don't do is to have fun in your community when you raise the money. Perhaps there are different ways of going to the door in the community. We raised some money up in North Toronto one year by having a baseball game against the police. It was a lot of fun. We had learned to play. I remember trying to run to first base and being picked up by the police chief and run back again. It was certainly a lot of fun, and we raised what we set out to do. Improved relationships with the police were a side benefit, and there has to be more of that too.

I think we have to focus on community needs so when you're going to the door you don't just say, "I want," but you say, "What do you think the problems are in this neighbourhood?" and get back to them. We have to involve all the associations, not just the church, not just the social services associations, but the residents' associations who tend to only look at land use planning, the businessmen's and businesswomen's association, and the tenants' groups. I found that in organizing tenants for a rent review hearing, they usually haven't met one another before, and once they've met one another they like to keep in touch. There are things that, I think, can be done more creatively out in the community, and I think that there are probably untapped resources in the community that you could find.

I have found that in my area even group homes can be installed without any great fuss and muss, and I've found that the way to do it is for the politicians to stay as far away as they possibly can because they become the problem. There have been two group homes approved in my ward in the last three months. One is opened up, and one is just about to be and I was wise enough to stay away from what appeared to be a rather angry group meeting the other night. My assistant went, and a man made a classic comment about how he trusted the Salvation Army more than he trusted City Hall. People did not have the opportunity to be hostile to a politician and couldn't be as rude to the Salvation Army. If I had been there I would have gone raving bloody mad; so probably it was a good thing that I stayed away. I just told people it was legal; it was to be supported; I supported it, and that was that. If Forest Hill can take group homes, anyone can take group homes. They had the money, they just needed the acceptance.

The other way I think you draw people into this debate about people's needs, social needs, is to ask them if they're so immune from tragedy themselves? That's the way I usually go about it in the north end. Can you honestly say there's nobody in your family who is either retarded or disabled physically, mentally, who hasn't ever committed a crime, who hasn't needed some help at any part of your life. Gaze at them in the eye, and they look away, and they usually say, "No." And usually the denial is part of the problem; people don't like to think that they've got anything wrong with their family or their friends. But if you attack it as, "Well, wouldn't it be nice for somebody in your family to live in your community?" It's easier to get sympathy from people.

I've been involved recently in a new initiative for me, one involving the private sector, because next year is our 150th

birthday in Toronto, the sesquicentennial year. The response from the private sector has been astounding. I don't think I would have thought of going to them for voluntary help, free help, but we're living in a time where there are people who are still employed but they've got no work to do. The private sector has got people that they're willing to lend to you. So we've had extraordinarily good media and marketing advice. If you in the social services industry, if you like, started looking at firms, instead of asking them for cash - I know the United Way does get people from various businesses - you might be astounded at what you'd get. Take for instance, whether you like Ronald MacDonald house or not, you've got to admit that MacDonald's did one hell of a job in raising that money and getting it open. You've also got to admit that MacDonald's has done one hell of a job in having their MacHappy Days where all the proceeds thereof go to disabled children. Obviously MacDonald's wants to be loved. Obviously, therefore, you can get at them, you can get more out of them, you can give them other ideas. And if MacDonald's will do it, maybe Burger Shack will do it as well.

I think the other thing is to look at what is happening throughout Metro; there isn't a single community that isn't looking for help. The South East Asians are looking to help themselves, and they need a lot of help. Somebody made it very chic to help the boat people for about a year, and about a year later a lot of people weren't helping the boat people any more. That is a community that is enormously depressed. I am not somebody who is easily turned to tears, but when the South East Asians came to the Board of Health I was angered. That's a community that should be the top of anybody's funding list and not the bottom as at this point in time. But I'm perfectly certain from what I saw one day that people in that community are going to be the sort of people who are going to help themselves. The Italians have

done it. The political manoeuvrings on Metro Council last year when the Columbus Centre was funded shows how well they can do it. There's an incredible mosaic of self-help groups in this city. But it's disconnected, uncoordinated. We need to get people to attack problems together. You should be advocating, it seems to me, for expense money for volunteers. You could be advocating that those volunteer years get rewarded later on in pensions and things like that. I don't think you're thinking through enough of all the ways of turning people on and not giving them a chance to say 'no' to you.

So I think you can do the advocacy. You have to find out what the needs are and I think you know that. Ask people what they think they need, and help them get it, and when they can get it let them do it by themselves. When you ask people at the door keep them informed. Don't just take their money from them; keep them involved. Make it fun to be a canvasser, not a chore. I think it's probably a chore.

Use the marketing approach. I'm not sure whether you even want to hear this. Take the Bell Telephone ad that says, 'Keep in touch,' and picture nice old folks taking to young folks. You somehow have to get people to respond as I do, by going and dialing my mother.

MARVYN NOVICK

I'm always impressed with the group that remains behind for a wrap-up session. They're either the dedicated remnants or a group or people who are having supper downtown tonight. In any event, what I think we will try to do is first hear from the discussion leaders of the afternoon sessions and see what sense or themes they've been able to draw from the discussion. When they have reported I will try to offer some comments of my own.

It seems to me that the question we have to keep posing is, 'What is the central theme that we're wrestling with?' Is the central theme the question of how we fund voluntary services? Is it the question of how we induce government to assume more of a funding role with respect to programs? Or are those essentially symptoms? I think we've gone through these deliberations before and perhaps there's a measure of insight that can begin to emerge as the set of questions are posed again and again. I would suggest to you that the central theme that we're wrestling with is the theme of public responsibility, and that the issue of funding reflects the consession of public responsibility. That sense of public responsibility is what is at stake today, and the question I would leave you with is 'What is the role of participants here in building that sense of public responsibility?'

As the times deteriorate, and as the shamans and prophets of the mid-1970's with their economic formulations begin to be revealed as shamans, it's becoming quite evident that underneath the economic formulations is an issue of collective will, and that's where the moral dimension emerges. Very simply stated, let me put it to you this way. "In the midst of our economic difficulties

we remain a province and a municipality of extraordinary wealth." The issue is will, the will to allocate, the will to formulate.

You might want to know that Ontario has the distinction of being, amongst others, not only the lowest spending province per capita for social services, but Ontario has the distinction of being a province that takes less tax revenue out of the gross domestic product than any other province in Canada. This is the province that uses its wealth less for public purposes than any other province in Canada.

That is a question of will and public responsibility. I pose to you that the real question is, 'Can we build a movement for public responsibility in Metropolitan Toronto and in Ontario?' Public responsibility doesn't mean the voluntary sector versus government. In fact I'm convinced that the fate of both sectors are intrinsically tied up with each other. We have seen in the last six or seven years a weak sense of public responsibility at the government level, and interestingly enough, we have wrestled with the adequacy of the sense of public responsibility in voluntary fund raising and activity. My own sense is that public responsibility is enacted in two ways. It is enacted through government policy, but more significantly it reflects the state of collective initiative. It reflects the way in which people who hold public responsibility demonstrate their commitment, and when voluntary sector community agencies are wearied as indispensable means of citizenship in which people can enact their commitment to public responsibility, they go together.

Well, what have we been missing? I think two things. One, we've been missing, it seems to me, a sense of time. Leonard Shifrin's comments suggested that the generation of leaders who built the achievements of the post-war period from 1945 to 1970 have moved on, and we are missing in the community a new generation of leaders to really carry the burden, the purpose of public responsibility, forward. The 1970's have been an inordinate transition period in the

structure of the United Way and in the structure of community agencies. The sense of optimism that I have as I look through this room is that we are on the verge of breeding a new generation of leaders within the community who will carry forward the message of public responsibility. I think one of the most encouraging things that's happened in the past year and a half is the re-establishment of relationships with the church sector in the community, as well as growing relationships with the labour movement. I think these are the means through which a movement for public responsibility is built. Let's not fool ourselves, as the struggle is a tough one.

In a period of economic decline we revert back to basic relations of the weak and the strong, and unfortunately the achievements that Anne Johnston cited don't give me a sense of encouragement on their own. Yes, in the 1970's, fitness, health promotion, concern with the retarded and disabled, funding of the arts and sports became dominant concerns. But let's not fool ourselves. These are self-protective programs that benefit the strong. I need not remind you that the public health movement developed in the 1830's and 1840's in England at the very same time as some of the most repressive poor laws were being enacted because the public health movement protected the strong as well as the weak. The poor laws were obviously directed to the weak.

The movement for public responsibility has to recognize that there is a need to build a community in which the weak as well as the strong are protected and nurtured. How do we do that? I'd like to suggest that marketing and issue promotion are important, but I don't think they're enough. I think the real question is that of mobilization. Mobilizing meaning, how do we reach out now beyond the groups that we're familiar with? Beyond the agencies, the professional groups, the grass roots groups into those broader linkages?

I think in this respect that the United Way has a very critical role to play in making itself a contributor to this public movement. One of the groups that has become least associated with the struggle for public responsibility has been the business community. The business community has allowed a small group within that community to speak for everyone, and the result has been a period in which cowboy capitalists of the nature of the Pocklingtons and Worthingtons, the Frazer Institute and the National Citizen Coalition, have been allowed to reflect the complete spectrum of business thinking around public responsibility. I think it's time for the United Way to once more identify and re-engage those members of the business community who do have a strong sense of a progressive tradition. These progressive business options need to be brought in a very powerful way to the United Way. We need to recognize that the business community is not monolithic. There are elements in the business community who are now coming to recognize that an adversarial approach to industrial relations is destructive to productivity. The United Way's role is one of ensuring that there is a progressive voice from the business community that is genuinely committeed to public responsibility.

I submit to you that there is also a need to ensure that the weak are protected within the United Way framework. Perhaps the stronger agencies have to be expected to rely more on their own resources; perhaps the United Way has to give greater attention to those agencies for whom survival depends upon a collective framework such as the United Way. For the Social Planning Council the process of coalition building remains, and that coalition building means the patience of reaching out and bringing in ever wider groups of people. Government very often have conferred upon them still a sense of power that they don't possess as yet. Some of us have been overwhelmed at the extent of impotence in government. Government direction reflects the basic will of the community, and where

that basic will is weak, the result from government may place 6 or 7 per cent ceilings on increases in the funding of certain social programs, indicating the real state of collective will in the community.

I am frankly optimistic because I think we've reached a period in which we can think for ourselves. I think there was an enormous period of fear and panic from 1975 to 1981. Conditions were changing rapidly. We were beholden to the explanations offered by the cowboy experts and their financial and economic retinues. Enough time has passed for us to realize in Ontario, in Washington, and in London, that the answers are entirely bankrupt. It seems to me there currently is a willingness and a receptivity for appeals to public responsibility. I think that it is possible in the next year for the United Way to rebuild its base and for it to incorporate the kind of leadership that can speak out to a broader constituency, and I think it's possible for community agencies to nurture those critical linkages that they've started to develop with religious groups, with the labour movement, with professions, and with the parts of the business community that the United Way is able to secure.

So I leave you with a sense of encouragement. This may seem ritualistic, but the fact that there are new faces in this room today is an encouraging note. I thank you on behalf of the participants for coming, and presume that we'll see you in your various roles during the next year.

Thank you.

SUMMARY

The conference brought together a large number of people with many different agendas. Some were individuals active in their own voluntary organizations looking for hints and direction to strengthen their own efforts. Others came with a more global perspective anxious to mobilize others to work on broad social issues or to press the need for further government funding for the voluntary sector.

The central themes that emerged during the day were leadership and responsibility. Bishop Bothwell spoke of the need to negotiate across every social, political and economic barrier, and seek solutions to our problems that are mutually acceptable to all parties. We tend to look at our institutional needs first, but the poor, the sick and those who hurt must be at the centre of our vision.

Leonard Shifrin placed the day's discussion within the context of events over the past two decades and the historical performance of the voluntary sector. He pointed out that the record of social service organizations in advocating on behalf of the poor is not particularly impressive. There is a leadership role for the voluntary sector, but at issue is whether it is prepared to accept that role and, if so, how it goes about doing it?

Anne Johnston acknowledged the difficulties in the present political climate, but stressed the need for creativity, advocacy and marketing. It is important to find ways of reaching people; she urged us to make our points so clear that people cannot look you in the eye and say, "No".

In the closing session Marvyn Novick stressed the role of the voluntary sector and the participants in this conference in generating a sense of public responsibility. Public responsibility is not an issue of voluntary sector versus government. Funding levels reflect the sense of public responsibility that exists in the community. The issue is one of "will", the will to allocate, the will to formulate solutions. To build a movement for public responsibility it is essential to mobilize - reach out beyond the groups with which we are familiar, beyond the established agencies to include professional groups, grass roots groups. church groups, the labour movement and the business community.

There were some lessons for the two sponsoring organizations. The Social Planning Council was urged to continue its role in coalition-building. The United Way was urged to re-engage the business community as part of the broad community coalition. The voluntary sector must share ideas, resources and research. It is essential that we define our agenda, and develop a clear consensus for action.

A clear consensus did not emerge. Participants seeking specific directions may have left disappointed, but for many the issues perhaps became clearer. Marvyn Novick suggested that within the audience there was a new generation of leaders. He also found the participation of new faces a source of encouragement. The task at hand is to define the issues more clearly, build a broader coalition, and articulate a clear, common message. The message must address our primary responsibility to ensure that the weak as well as the strong are protected and nurtured.

April 5, 1983